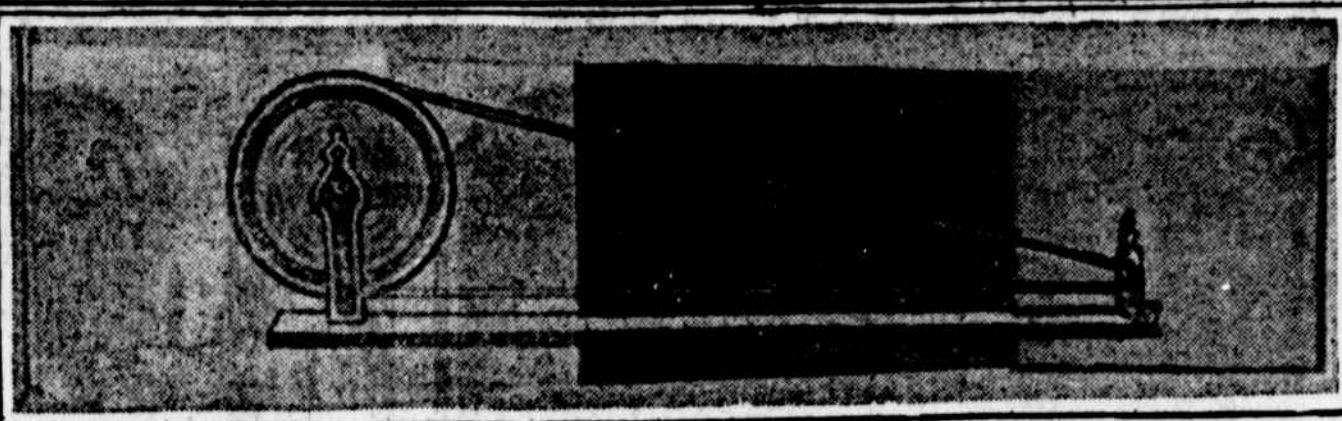


GANDHI QUOTED TO SHOW HE IS NOT A PACIFIST



"I Would Rather Have India Resort to Arms to Defend Her Honor Than That She Should in a Cowardly Manner Become or Remain a Helpless Witness of Her Own Dishonor," Mahatma's Cry When Aiding England to Recruit in Recent War, Says Basanta Koomar Roy.

By BASANTA KOOMAR ROY,

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Hindustanees at home and abroad are simply stunned at the arrest and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi and his wife Kasturibai. The Mahatma is loved and revered by the teeming millions of India, irrespective of their religious creed or political party affiliation. Not to speak of others, even the revolutionists of India are second to none in their reverence for the saintly personality of Gandhi, for they above others realize what this modern Mahatma has done to weld the heterogeneous masses and races and religions of India into a homogeneous whole in its titanic opposition to the British government in India.

This unity, especially between the Hindus and the Mohammedans, is one of India's cherished assets for the insured success of the imminent revolution in that ancient country. Though frail in physique, Mahatma Gandhi has accomplished a gigantic task of supreme importance for the ultimate unconditional independence of India.

The devotees of British imperialism may be tempted to dismiss this latest British outrage on India with a sardonic smile; but before long they will have ample reason to be convinced that the poignant imaginings of their imperialistic vagaries have lured them too far into dangerous ground.

With the imprisonment of Gandhi the British raj faces a serious crisis in India; and India finds herself at the parting of the ways. Peace or war, that is the paramount question that is agitating the minds of the Hindus today. Mahatma Gandhi is a peace-loving man. So is every Hindu. The gospel of peace is nothing new for India. All the great religious leaders of the land, from Buddha to Ramkrishna, have preached the gospel of love and peace.

Every morning, noon and night, year in and year out, one can hear the cry of "Shanti, Shanti, Shanti" (peace, peace, peace), rising from the temples and homes of Hindustan. The Hindu holds mind as superior to matter; even so he holds peace superior to war. It needs not the words of Mahatma Gandhi to convince any Hindu of this basic philosophy, which Hindus through ages have made part of their lives.

WAR OF JUSTICE RIGHT.

But at the same time neither Hindu philosophy, nor Hindu society, nor Hindu scriptures condemn war unconditionally. A war

of aggression is an atrocious crime. But a just war for the establishment of righteousness on earth is not only an ethical obligation, but a religious duty. The Kshatriya caste is the caste of warriors. The Kshatriya's principal duty in life is to seek salvation by fighting on the side of truth against falsehood, justice against slavery.

"He who falls," says a Hindu scripture, "to protect morality when morality is being flouted, is himself guilty of violating morality."

BELIEF IS FATALISTIC.

"A hero enjoys the pleasures of life by victory or conquers heaven by death. . . . A soldier cannot wish for a happier end than death in battle; death in battle is the best of all austerities and of all sin-expiating penances prescribed by a soldier. . . . The soldier who deserts his comrades or who flies in terror from the battle field incurs the sin of killing a Brahmin priest, and the gods forsake such a vile coward. The soldier who prefers death to defeat and thinks it more honorable to die in the front acquires the merit of a thousand sacrificial rites."

HINDUS' WAR CREED.

And again, to quote a few of the war injunctions from Hindu scriptures:

"Even the wicked should be conquered by fair means."

"It is better to die observing righteousness than to win by wrongful methods."

"In warfare both parties should be similarly equipped."

"Take not from the enemy that which he will be able to get back again."

"A king should never slay a larger proportion of the forces of



PROPAGANDA in India is carried on largely by means of cartoons, which are printed on fine paper and passed from hand to hand. Gandhi is the central figure of most of these cartoons. The examples presented here have just reached The Washington Times from India. Above, on the left, a tug of war between the British forces and the Gandhi forces is represented. Gandhi is winning. As Krishna once held up high Mt. Gopberdhan, even so (above on the right) Gandhi is made to hold, with the help of his principal lieutenants, Mt. Everest, the top of which the British could not reach.

The lower cartoon depicts British terrorism, guns, aeroplanes, and hand grenades on one side threatening to crush Gandhi, while on the other, reform schemes, governorships and fat salaries lure him; yet Gandhi sits at the center, unconcerned, meditating upon the spinning wheel, the symbol of India's power in boycotting British goods. The flag of free India, above in center, has the spinning wheel for its dominant note.

the foe than is sufficient to render his victory sure."

"Refrain from profitless deeds of hostility and also from insolent speech."

Even when a king has gathered together a mighty army composed of the four kinds of forces, he should first adopt a peaceful behavior. If these efforts toward peace are unsuccessful, then thou mayest enter upon battle. The victory that is gained by battle is far inferior."

INDIA'S RISING ANGER.

The two greatest of India's epics, now about 4,000 years old, deal with war, battles, victories and defeats. The Bhagavat Gita most explicitly sanctions a righteous war.

In modern times the Indian revolutionists began preparing for a righteous war against British occupation of India in 1905.

Secret revolutionary activities spread all over India with phenomenal rapidity. Numerous men and women of all walks of life became interested in this new movement, and many enlisted in the revolutionary ranks.

Hundreds of our (India's) young men were imprisoned, deported and hanged for the crime of patriotism. The world war began in 1914 and Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1915. For a

while Gandhi spent his time preaching the gospel of health and hygiene. Then he began to preach his satyagraha (holding fast to truth) philosophy, which included general strikes.

The Amritsar massacre was perpetrated on April 13, 1919. This massacre and other British atrocities in the Punjab brought about a great change in the heart and mind of Mahatma Gandhi.

This then most obnoxiously loyal Indian subject of the alien King of England decided to cease all co-operation with his Britannic majesty's government in India. And after the death of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi became the undisputed leader of the conservative constitutional forces as represented by the Indian National Congress.

GANDHI'S BOYCOTT.

It was through the personal influence of Mahatma Gandhi that the Indian National Congress adopted the non-violent, non-cooperation movement—a movement that advocates the boycott of everything British—British courts, titles, schools, colleges, offices, saloons, opium dens and, above all, British goods.

By an unflinching advocacy of peaceful means, Gandhi kept the country rather non-violent as much as he could, though serious

isolated revolutionary outbreaks occurred in distant quarters of the country, and the Prince of Wales was attacked at Bombay and Madras, and fired at in Patala, the Sikh State of the Punjab, although London reports deny attacks on the prince.

What definite form the present intensified unrest caused by the intrinsic inability of the scheming chancelleries of England will take will be known before long. In the meantime it is quite in season to inquire into the intellectual attitude of Mahatma Gandhi on violence and war.

IS GANDHI A PACIFIST?

Is Mahatma Gandhi an unconditional pacifist? Most decidedly not. Like all Hindus, he prefers the peaceful settlement of a dispute, but he does not condemn war and violence under all conditions and circumstances. His own recorded speeches and writings bear testimony to the truthfulness of my statement. Mahatma Gandhi is not and never was for the independence of India. His faith in British justice and his loyalty to the British throne always kept him from demanding independence for the land of his birth. Even as late as last December he opposed with all his might resolutions on behalf of India's independence before

the Indian National Congress and the All-India Students Conference.

The question of national independence is still beyond the bounds of Mahatma Gandhi's home-rule mind. It was in this spirit that he supported England in her last war of insensate imperialism and insatiable commercialism. Not only intellectual support, Gandhi even acted, during the war, as a recruiting agent of the British government.

Does this demonstrate pacifism, to urge men to go to war? And on account of his tremendous popularity he was one of England's most efficient and valued recruiting agents during the war.

Thus spoke Mahatma Gandhi in part in his recruiting speech at Kaira in July, 1918:

"We wish for the time when we may aspire to the Viceroyal office."

GANDHI'S WARLIKE SPEECH.

"To bring such a state of things we should have the ability to defend ourselves, that is, the ability to bear arms and to use them. As long as we have to look to the Englishmen for our defense, as long as we are not free from the fear of the military, so long we cannot be regarded as equal partners with Englishmen. It, therefore, behooves us to learn the use of

"I Do Believe That When There Is Only a Choice Between Cowardice and Violence, I Would Advise Violence—To Sacrifice Sons in War Ought to Be a Cause, Not of Pain, but of Pleasure, to Brave Men—There Can Be No Friendship Between the Brave and the Effeminate."

arms and to acquire the ability to defend ourselves. If we want to learn the use of arms with the greatest possible dispatch, it is our duty to enlist ourselves in the army. THERE CAN BE NO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE BRAVE AND THE EFFEMINATE. We are regarded as a cowardly people. If we want to become free from that reproach we should learn the use of arms. . . . The easiest and the straightest way, therefore, to win SWARAJ (Home Rule) is to participate in the defense of the Empire.

"It is not within our power to give much money. Moreover, it is not money that will win the war. Only an inexhaustible army can do it. That army India can supply. If the Empire wins mainly with the people of our army it is obvious that we would secure the rights we want. . . . The government does not give us commissions in the army, they do not repeal the Arms Act; they do not open schools for military training. How can we then co-operate with them? . . . The government at present wants five hundred thousand men for the army. This number they are sure to raise some way or other. 'If we supply this number, we would cover ourselves with glory, we would be rendering true service and the reports that we hear of improper recruiting will be a thing of the past. . . ."

TOLD YOUTHS TO FIGHT.

"The foregoing argument will show that by enlisting in the army we help the empire, we qualify ourselves for Swarajya, we learn to defend India and to a certain extent regain our lost manhood. . . . I HOPE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE GROWN-UP SONS WILL NOT HESITATE TO SEND THEM AS RECRUITS. TO SACRIFICE SONS IN THE WAR OUGHT TO BE A CAUSE NOT OF PAIN, BUT OF PLEASURE TO BRAVE MEN. SACRIFICE OF SONS AT THIS CRISIS WILL BE SACRIFICE FOR SWARAJYA."

"To you, my sisters, I request that you will not be startled by this appeal, but will accord it a hearty welcome. It contains the key to your protection and your honor."

"If every village gives at least twenty men they will return from the war and be the living bul-

warks of their village. If they fall on the battlefield, they will immortalize themselves, their village and their country, and twenty fresh men will follow suit and offer themselves for national defense."

Does a pacifist speak this way? Can a nationalist utter such words?

And again, long after the war was ended—a war in which Mahatma Gandhi helped in the mutilation, murder and massacre of hundreds of thousands of guiltless Indian soldiers on the battlefields of France, Flanders, Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia, yes, long after the war was over, Mahatma Gandhi thus wrote in his own weekly, Young India, for August 11, 1920:

"In this age of the rule of brute force, it is almost impossible for anyone to believe that any one else could possibly reject the law of the final supremacy of brute force—and as success of non-co-operation depends principally on the absence of violence during its pendency, and as my views in this matter affect the conduct of a large number of people, I am anxious to state them as clearly as possible."

"I DO BELIEVE THAT WHEN THERE IS ONLY A CHOICE BETWEEN COWARDICE AND VIOLENCE I WOULD ADVISE VIOLENCE."

Thus, when my eldest son asked me what he should have done had he been present when I was almost fatally assaulted in 1905, whether he should have run away and seen me killed, or whether he should have used his physical force which he could and wanted to use to defend me, I told him that it was his duty to defend me even by using violence. Hence it was that I took part in the Boer war, the so-called Zulu rebellion and the late war.

"HENCE ALSO DO I ADVOCATE TRAINING IN ARMS FOR THOSE WHO BELIEVE IN THE METHOD OF VIOLENCE. I WOULD RATHER HAVE INDIA RESORT TO ARMS IN ORDER TO DEFEND HER HONOR THAN THAT SHE SHOULD IN A COWARDLY MANNER BECOME OR REMAIN A HELPLESS WITNESS TO HER OWN DISHONOR."

"But I believe that non-violence

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